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AUTHOR	Thomas, Susan B.; Bowermaster, Janet
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ABSTRACT

Recent research indicates that much of the educational advantaged gained by children in intervention programs is lost once the programs end. Researchers have speculated that the cause of this phenomena may be a lack of continuity between the child's early education experiences and his subsequent experiences in school. Based on a review of recent research, this paper explores home/school continuity (the degree of similarity between the child's experiences at home and at school) and preschool/school continuity (the degree to which the transition periods of different expectations is made smooth). The different approaches to parent involvement in the home/school transition examined include home intervention (home visits, parent meetings, etc.), the use of parents as paraprofessionals, and bicultural/bilingual education programs as an example of making school more like home. The preschool/school transition is discussed in terms of the different expectations to which a child must respond, including the child's adjustment to new rules of behavior, new peers, new teachers, and the demands of different instructional approaches. Questions raised in this paper suggest that continuity may be important, but that further and more rigorous research is necessary to determine the best methods of promoting continuity. (Authors/ED)

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THE CONTINUITY OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Susan B. Thomas and Janet Bowermaster

College of Education/University of Illinois
805 West Pennsylvania Avenue
Urbana, Illinois 61801

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THE CONTINUITY OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Although the concept of continuity in education is an old one, new interest has recently been generated because of study findings on the long-term effectiveness of educational intervention programs for young children. Some of the research findings indicate that much of the educational advantage gained by children in these programs is lost once the programs end. Researchers have speculated that the cause of this "wash-out" phenomenon may be a lack of continuity between the child's early education experiences and his subsequent experiences in school.

This paper will explore home/school continuity and preschool/school continuity. Home/school continuity may be defined as the degree of similarity between the child's experiences at home and at school, including the values and attitudes associated with these experiences. An assumption is made that a child's development is enhanced when the child's preschool program is based on a plan that takes into account the child's home experiences.

The concept of congruency seems somewhat inappropriate in considering the preschool/school transition, since this transition is marked by a series of changing expectations for the child. Continuity in this instance may be defined as the degree to which the transition between periods of different expectations is made smooth. The extent to which parents, teachers, and the child himself are aware of what is expected is also important.

For some children the change to school from preschool may be quite abrupt: a change from a free and open setting to a structured and formal classroom. Teachers in different settings have different expectations for children. What effect does the change in expectations have on the child's learning? His self concept? His social development? Can the child perceive the new rules quickly enough to change his behavior and not be mislabeled by the teacher and the school (e.g., slow learner, restless, etc)? Could some special kind of transition allow for better adaptation to a new situation?

If a child is taught with the same instructional approach in preschool and school, will his learning and adjustment be superior? Or, might experience with several different approaches encourage flexibility and adaptability in the child? Little research is available on most of these issues. However, concerns about this type of continuity are important when reasons for the "wash-out" of effects of early intervention programs are being considered. One possibility is that when children have to unlearn their preschool experiences, they sometimes have adjustment problems, and may lose their early academic gains. Some intervention programs have attempted to ease children's transition from preschool to school by encouraging parent participation through home visitor programs or educational meetings. Other programs have actively involved parents in the program as paraprofessionals working with children. Besides being their children's first teachers, parents provide continuity as they usually keep the child's environment fairly stable and continuous over years. Both cross-sectional and longitudinal

research studies have documented the importance of parental involvement in their children's education.

The home/school section of this paper will examine research on programs with parent components, with specific attention given to the long-term effects of these programs as related to the degree of parent involvement. A question to be answered is whether children in programs with a high degree of parent involvement show more lasting gains than children in programs with a minimal amount of parent involvement.

CONTINUITY FROM HOME TO SCHOOL

Continuity, or congruency, of experiences, seems to be important in the development of the child. These experiences include those dealing with cognitive, social, and physical development, as well as the attitudes, values, and aspirations of the parents and of the school. Does the child benefit from similar experiences (and emphases) at home and at school with regard to speech patterns, discipline, attitudes, and values? Children whose home experiences are most congruent with their school experiences seem to experience greater success in school. Research support for this contention is found in the educational intervention literature. However, the intervention approach may not always be desirable. Critics argue that to try to change the whole constellation of environmental influences surrounding the child is to say that every child and his family must be carbon copies of the middle class ideal in order to succeed. As certain subgroups in society become more concerned about preserving their cultural identity, they are less willing to accept such an approach. As a result,

a new effort is being made to increase congruency by making the school more like the home. With respect to research on the home/school aspect of continuity, a number of questions must be considered:

1. Is home/school continuity more critical in some areas of the child's environment than in others? For example, would similar emphases at home and at school in cognitive development be more important to later school success than similarities of attitudes and values on the part of the parents?
2. Can specific types of development (e.g., cognitive, social, or physical) be examined individually to learn what each contributes to the child's overall continuous learning?
3. How is the child affected by increasing home/school continuity in one area, such as cognitive development?
4. What kinds of additive effects on the child do changes in these areas have? Does improving a child's physical well-being through an emphasis on nutrition also improve his cognitive and social development?
5. Are long-term gains from the early educational experience due to increased similarity of the home and the school, or because of the increased contact with middle class values, attitudes, and aspirations about education that influence subsequent school success?
6. What are the alternatives to making the home more like the school. Is a cultural pluralism model feasible?

These questions require attention to the specific areas of cognitive, social, and physical development, as well as the values, attitudes and aspirations of the parents. We will first consider the effects of the degree of parent involvement on the child's long-term gains academically, and also the specific provisions made for congruency in the child's development and in changing parental beliefs.

The first five questions raised reflect the expectation that any changes will be made by the parents and home in becoming more like the school. The sixth question suggests that the school as well as the home should be open to change.

It is generally agreed that the family is the setting in which the child's basic personality development and early learning take place; motivation for learning and achievement behavior is also based on what the child observes in his home. The family communicates values, aspirations, and a way of life to the child.

Davis (1973) has developed an index which demonstrates the relationship between environmental variables and school achievement. The six items in his scale include:

1. Achievement press: the parents' aspirations for the child and for themselves; their interest in, knowledge of, and standards for rewards for the child's educational achievement.
2. Language models: the quality of parents' language and the standards they expect in the child's language.
3. Academic guidance: the availability and quality of the educational guidance provided in the home.

4. Activeness of the family: the extent and content of the indoor and outdoor activities of the family.

5. Intellectuality in the home: the nature and quality of toys, and the opportunity for thinking (as opposed to authoritarian commands, or answering of all the child's questions, thus not allowing him to figure things out for himself) in daily activities.

6. Work habits in the family: the degree of routine in home management and the preference for educational activities.

Research using the index (Davis, 1963) indicates a correlation of +.80 between the index and fourth grade achievement test scores. Children scoring high on the index appear to resemble middle class children, in that they score high on achievement tests (usually normed on middle class populations). The middle class emphasis on getting ahead through education is also reflected in this index.

This index may be used as a rough approximation of the degree of congruency present in the home: those children scoring low on the scale have dissimilar home environments to children who subsequently do well in school (as defined by achievement tests). These variables, then, may be considered as important background information in providing for educational experiences. Environmental variables mentioned by other researchers as being important include consistency in permissiveness and the use of force in discipline, either verbal or physical.

Home Intervention

Efforts to change the home can be divided into three categories, depending upon the degree of parent involvement.

1. Home visits: attempts are made to change the mother/child interaction. This reflects the last degree of parent involvement, and may vary according to the particular program.

2. Parent meetings: attempts to change the quality and quantity of parent/child interactions and the parents themselves through specific educational programs.

3. Use of parent resources: attempts to change parent/child interactions, parents themselves, and the economic condition of the family in programs where the parent is employed as a paraprofessional.

The effects of these efforts to change the home depend in part upon the degree of parent involvement and cooperation. As with any intervention program, variations may yield variations in the results. Examples from specific programs in each of the above categories, follow, and are meant to be illustrative rather than comprehensive.

Home Visits

Home visitor programs are aimed at changing mother-child interactions to make them more similar to those of the middle class. For example, middle class mothers typically talk more to their children than lower class mothers do and use more complex grammatical constructions. It has been hypothesized that early language training facilitates the ability to do abstract thinking. Special emphasis is placed on the teaching role of the mother. In a few cases, home visiting constituted the entire educational program, but more often it was one component

of a program which included classes for the child and meetings for the parents. The home visitor either worked directly with the child, giving the mother a model of adult/child interaction, or with the mother to teach her methods and activities that she, herself, could use with her child. Work with parents is based on the premise that the parent will have a more enduring effect on the child over the years than a visiting teacher could have in a program of relatively short duration. Thus, in most programs, home visitors work with the parents or with parents and children together, mother than with the child alone.

The kinds of activities chosen for the home visits reflect the philosophy of the individual preschool programs on which they are based, and the same materials may be used differently from one program to the next. For example, in Weikart's cognitive program, home visitors might use blocks of various sizes in seriation types of tasks, while a home visitor from the language-oriented Karnes program would use the same blocks in an activity emphasizing comprehension and verbal directions. Efforts are made to help parents learn to use materials already in the home so that they will see the educational potential of common items. For example, in the DARCEE program, home visitors showed mothers how to teach their child categorization while doing the laundry. When the clothes were dirty, the child helped sort them into white and colored piles, and when they were clean further sorting was done according to ownership.

Research on Home Visitor Programs

Cognitive development seems to be most stressed in home visitor

programs. Tasks usually have a very definite cognitive orientation, and mothers are encouraged to interact verbally with their children. Social development, physical development in terms of special information for the parents, and changes in parental attitudes and values are usually not considered central to this type of intervention, but may be present in some form. Success of intervention programs is measured mostly in terms of lasting gains in academic achievement, or perhaps IQ score gains. Concerns about gains in social development are generally missing.

Table 1 summarizes five home visitor programs. Since these studies are well known, they are not presented in detail. Developmental concerns are specified for each program: that is, is the program concerned with social development? Cognitive development? Language development? Instructional components for each program are also given. Some programs initiated only a home visitor; other programs combined several different approaches. Research results are presented whenever available. In some cases longitudinal results were available, but in most cases results represent studies conducted over a short period of time.

The premise in most programs seems to be that the parent should be involved as an active participant, and should feel that he/she is an important teacher for the child. In general, children involved in programs containing a home visitor element did make gains in many areas, but most consistently in cognitive development as reflected in IQ and achievement test scores.

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Table 1

Summary of Research on Intervention Programs with a Home Visitor Component

Program	Developmental Concerns						Instructional Provisions	Research Results
	Social	IQ	Language	Psychomotor	General cognitive	Emotional		
Appalachian Educational Laboratory's Project HOPE (Alford & Hines, 1972)	X		X	X	X		30 minute TV program daily Home visits by paraprofessional, weekly session in mobile classroom	Significant gains in prereading skills trends toward increased language development, social skills enhanced when participated in mobile classroom
DARCEE (Gray & Klaus, 1968)		X	X	X	X		Summer preschool experience (10weeks); weekly home visits during rest of year. Emphasis on working with parent as child's teacher.	Gains in cognitive variables, including IQ. At end of 4th grade, children in program were significantly higher on Stanford-Binet, and higher but not significantly, on PPVT. Siblings of target children also benefited. No differences on most attitude variables
(Attitudes: achievement motivation, persistence, ability to delay gratification, identification with achieving role models)								
Perry Preschool Project (Weikart, Deloria, & Lawser, 1970)	X				X	X	Weekly home visits by child's preschool teacher; group meetings for parents; preschool for child	Children in program scored higher on measures of cognitive ability, but the differences disappeared by 3rd grade. Children also received better ratings by their elementary school teachers on academic, emotional, and social development.
(Attitudes: child rearing practices and attitudes of parents)								
Karnes Project (Karnes, Hodgins, & Teska, 1968b)		X	X		X		Group A: preschool, home visits, parent meetings Group B: preschool only	Results favored group with preschool only
Karnes Project (Karnes, Hodgins, & Teska, 1968a)		X					Home visits and group meetings for mothers	Compared with children not in program, children in the program made gains on Stanford Binet IQ
Florida Program (Gordon, 1969)	X	X			X	X	Home visits by paraprofessionals. Emphasized parents as teachers	Children in program made gains in several areas.

Since the home visitor program was not a part of a componential analysis, we can make no conclusions about the specific effects of the home visitor other than to state that gains were noted in this part of a program.

Parent Meetings

Another type of intervention effort involves parent meetings held by the school to help parents increase their knowledge and understanding of child rearing and child development. Specific adult/child interaction skills may be taught, or concerns voiced by parents may be discussed. Goals of the preschool program and aspects of the curriculum might also be presented.

McCarthy (1968) compared the relative effectiveness of three approaches in a langauge development oriented program: preschool, preschool plus parent meetings, and preschool plus home visits. Children in preschool whose parents attended the parent meetings made substantial but not significant gains in language abilities, while children in preschool who were also visited by a home visitor made significant language gains.

Stern and Marshall (1970) examined the effects of parent meetings on parent attitudes and subsequent performance of children enrolled in Head Start program which stressed language skills and information acquisition. Parents learned teaching techniques as well as how to make educational materials. They were also encouraged to express their feelings and vent their grievances, and were made to feel that they were adequate and competent partners in planning educational

experiences for their children.

Pretest scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) and the Caldwell Preschool Inventory (CPI) indicated no initial differences between groups. Results of posttests showed that children in the group whose parents attended the parent meetings scored significantly higher on the CPI, but not the PPVT.

Parental attitudes were measured on three instruments: The Parent Expectations Toward Head Start (PATHS), the Parent Expectations for Achievement of Children in Head Start (PEACH), and the How I See Myself measure of alienation. Although parent measures reflected little change, the parents' alienation scores were related to the number of visits to the site and attendance at parent meetings. Children of parents scoring low in alienation scored significantly higher on the PPVT than children of parents having high alienation scores.

Radin (1971) studied changes in parent attitudes and subsequent changes in the child's performance as measured on an IQ test, the PPVT, and a pupil behavior inventory. Children participated in one of three programs: (1) preschool with biweekly home tutoring sessions involving the mother and weekly small group parent meetings on child rearing practices; (2) preschool and biweekly home tutoring with the mother participating; and (3) preschool and biweekly home tutoring where neither parent was present. Pretests indicated no initial differences. The parents were given the Parental Attitude Research Instrument which deals with child rearing attitudes and the Cognitive Home Environment Scale which deals with the amount of home stimulation.

Results indicated that there were no significant differences

among the groups on IQ or on the behavior inventory; children in all groups made gains on both measures. However, significant differences were found among the groups on the parent measures. Parents with no involvement showed little change on the posttest. Parents in the other groups changed in terms of home stimulation, grades they expect their children to have, authoritarianism, and amount of educational material in the home.

Results of a followup study one year later, showed that children in the group with maximum parent involvement had made a significant gain in IQ during kindergarten. Radin concluded that "...adding a parent component to a preschool program has no immediate effect on the children, but modifications in parental attitudes and behaviors take place...which appear to facilitate the child's long term intellectual development" (p.2).

Although these studies provide no direct test of the effect of parent meetings on the child's subsequent school performance, they do show the effectiveness of parent involvement. The effects of home visits and parent meetings are confounded in most studies. Further research may clarify the effectiveness of parent involvement in increasing home/school congruency.

Use of Parent Resources in Schools

Parent resources may be defined in many ways. For instance, parents might volunteer their help in building equipment and making materials or might accept paid employment as paraprofessionals (as teacher aides, home visitors, or even parent trainers). Parents working in the classroom can observe their child's peers and possibly

form more realistic expectations for their own child. They can also learn child management techniques from observing the classroom teacher, and collect ideas about topics, activities, and materials to use in working with their own children at home.

It seems likely that as the parent makes a contribution to his child's school, he may enhance his own self concept and thus be better able to turn his attention to his child's needs. In addition, as lower socioeconomic parents gain some status in the larger society, their children may indirectly benefit. When parents are employed as paraprofessionals, the employee's family enjoys an increase in income and various improvements in standard of living.

Information on the effects of using parent talent in the schools is largely anecdotal or descriptive in nature and deals mostly with programs employing parents as paraprofessionals. Jacobson (1970) interviewed parents employed as teacher aides in Head Start centers. Parents reported increased feelings of competence. Anecdotal evidence indicated that teaching techniques, activities, disciplinary procedures, and attitudes from the parents' aide experiences were apparently carried over to parental roles at home.

Parents involved in the Karnes Florida programs discussed earlier were paid for their participation. Some of the mothers were trained as paraprofessionals and later taught in the preschool under the supervision of the preschool teacher. In the Florida program, the Parent Educator who served as the home visitor was a person from the target community group. Greenwood, Breivogal and Olmsted (1974) reported that parents trained as Parent Educators went back to school for more

education (either high school or college), made major changes in their homes such as painting or repairs, felt they spoke better "school type" English, and usually felt that they related to and understood their own children better. However, no data were reported concerning the development and academic success of the children of the Parent Educators.

Summary

Further study is needed on the effects of different approaches to parent involvement. Weikart (1970) suggests that parent-centered programs are better than child-centered programs because while both have immediate effectiveness, parent programs have greater long-term effectiveness, are less expensive, and have extended benefits if parents apply what they have learned about teaching and child behavior to the siblings as well as to the target child. However, the amount and kind of parent involvement necessary for maximum benefit is not known. An analysis is needed of the various program components: preschool, home visits, parent meetings, and parents as paraprofessionals. Each element should be implemented alone, and in all possible combinations. Uniform data should be collected on children's development and academic performances and parental attitudes. Only with such a carefully planned analysis would it be possible to draw conclusions about the effects of the degree and kind of parental involvement on their children's subsequent development and performance.

One of the issues concerns the different kinds of development, i. e., cognitive, emotional, social, and physical. Most often, the

the programs emphasized cognitive development, and congruency was seen in the form of similar tasks for the children both at home and at school. In those programs stressing language development, the middle class paradigm appeared to be used in teaching language and in encouraging adult/child verbal interaction. One could also improve on the verbally-oriented IQ and achievement tests, as well as in social development. However, support for this contention is not available from research studies, although informal conversations with teachers indicates that degree of language development is related to IQ and achievement test performance.

Another concern was whether long-term gains from early educational experiences were due to increased similarity of the home and the school, or because of increased contact with the values and attitudes associated with middle class oriented schools. It was not possible to separate these effects from the available data, although some programs specifically taught achievement motivation, delay of gratification, and other attitudes and values related to school success. The cognitive measures used to test the children were usually normed on the middle class. It is possible that many of the tasks taught were similar to those on the test so the children in the program had experience with the kinds of test stimuli, and had adopted some of the attitudes needed to succeed on the tests. Children in the programs could also have become more adept at taking tests and interacting with unfamiliar adults.

At the present time, research results on the continuity of development and the effects of the degree of parental involvement are

far from conclusive. Experimental studies, with appropriate manipulations of program components, are needed before conclusions can be made. In addition, although most programs do have a cognitive component, little or no attention has been given to the results of cognitive stimulation on other kinds of development.

Making the School More Like the Home

Efforts to improve children's academic performance through intervention programs emphasizing various degrees of parent involvement have been found to be quite effective.

Many groups in our society are concerned with preserving their cultural identity, values, and attitudes, and are increasingly reluctant to accept intervention programs by the schools. Thus, we need to ask whether home/school congruency can be increased by making the school more like the home in terms of values and attitudes.

Schools with bicultural education programs are one example of such an approach. Most bicultural programs described in the current literature appear to have retained many of the more traditional academic goals of the middle class schools, while adding some areas of cultural study. They also consider specific cultural characteristics in devising more efficient ways of teaching. For example, the University of California's Culturally Democratic Learning Environment Model (Riverside) involves parents in developing cultural heritage materials. In this way, the children's cultural history and first language can be included in the curriculum. The premise underlying these programs is that the children's cultural background influences the way they think and learn. When this

background is used in the teaching process, the children will learn more effectively. In keeping with this approach, Mexican-American children, who grow up in a non-competitive atmosphere at home, are encouraged to work for the group rather than for themselves in school. Teachers demonstrate skills rather than tell others how to do things.

The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory's Follow-Through model (Emrick, et al, 1973) includes "pride in cultural background" and "facility and literacy in both the native language and English" as educational objectives. The assumption here is that "learning in a second language is easier and more effective if the child first learns concepts in his native language" (p. 247). This focus on bilingual and bicultural aspects of the child's education is directed to the more traditional academic goals found in intervention programs. More specifically, the program is geared to "guiding the teacher to adapt standard curricula to the unique needs of the bilingual children, thus preparing them to function in a traditional Fourth Grade" (p. 247).

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of increasing home/school congruency in this way. Jaramillo (1974) has suggested that bicultural education cannot be evaluated with the same instruments used for more traditional intervention programs. The programs have qualitatively different goals. Promising work is being done by the Multi-Cultural Assessment Center at Stockton, California in developing culturally appropriate measures.

As a result of the bicultural emphasis, schools have added new goals such as knowledge and appreciation of children's cultural heritage

and native language. But for the most part they have also retained the goal of preparing children to compete in the job market. As a result, one of the main differences between a bicultural program and a regular program seems to be the use of teaching techniques more appropriate to the child. In evaluating the results of these programs, however, measurement questions arise: Should special instruments be devised to measure the children's performance, taking into account their cultural differences; or should the existing tools be used since the children are preparing to enter the middle class job market? For the time being, perhaps a dual emphasis in program goals and assessment is necessary until the values and attitudes connected with the cultural pluralism movement become better assimilated into our economic structure.

Research results from bicultural/bilingual programs are scarce, especially when considering the area of home/school continuity. Although some research was done with older children (Emrick, et al, 1973) no studies were found using preschool children.

Attempts to assess the effects of increasing home/school continuity by making the school more like the home are tied up with issues of goals and measurement. If the goal of the bicultural program is to help the children compete more successfully in the mainstream culture, is it appropriate to use tests reflecting the cultural differences? If some of the goals are for such things as "appreciation of the child's cultural heritage", how can the attainment of this goal be measured? Until some progress is made in defining the goals of bilingual/bicultural programs in general, we are not likely to see conclusive research in the area.

CONTINUITY FROM PRESCHOOL TO SCHOOL

The preschool/school transition is characterized by a series of differentiated expectations to which the child must respond. Thus, it seems reasonable to define continuity between preschool and school as the degree to which transitions between periods of different expectations are made smooth. Children's learning is sometimes hindered by abrupt changes in program orientation which in turn bring about changes in behavioral expectations.

Many of the changed expectations with which a child may have to cope may seem insignificant to an adult. Yet a child may be upset when shifts in instructional approaches occur (for instance, from a behavior analysis orientation to an open classroom). The child may need help in understanding what behavior is now expected.

Behavior expectation. During the course of his educational experiences the child must learn to cope with many kinds of discontinuities between preschool and elementary school. First, the child must adjust to new rules of behavior. While no two classrooms or schools will have precisely the same rules for conduct, there do seem to be some generally accepted differences between preschool and elementary school.

For instance, in most preschools, children are encouraged to talk among themselves; language usage and ability to communicate with others are encouraged. In the elementary school, talking is theoretically regarded as a skill requiring practice, yet actually is often regarded as a disciplinary problem to be limited and controlled.

Rules about freedom of movement undergo a parallel change. In preschool, the ability to move freely about the room is considered

educational and necessary for development of a responsible, independent person. When the child enters elementary school, movement is restricted, and it, too, often becomes a disciplinary issue.

Children are encouraged to work together and to cooperate in the preschool. When they enter the elementary school, they are often encouraged to work independently, even to compete. Working together may even be construed as cheating by some teachers.

The number of pupils in a preschool versus the number in an elementary school also causes a shift in expectations about behavior. The higher teacher/pupil ratio in the elementary school usually forces more restrictive standards of conduct. Demands for obedience and attention to directions tend to become both stronger and more frequent. Increased restrictions, combined with a longer period of time spent in school mean that the elementary school child has to adjust to a longer period of social conformity.

Peer expectations. A change in peer groups may yield differential expectations. Nowhere in the child's educational career is the change of peers as complete as in the shift from preschool to elementary school. Although there may be later peer groups shifts, particularly post-high school, the adolescent is usually better prepared to cope with them.

Classroom teachers have long been aware that different classes have different "personalities". The class as a whole seems to have an identifiable position on certain issues; the group usually exerts pressures on individuals to conform to these positions. As early as pre[illegible]l, children

are influenced by their peers in such things as grooming ("Your hair looks nice that way"), taste in toys and games ("Only babies play that game"), and their friends ("Why don't you just be my friend and we won't play with Mary?"). While this kind of social impact has long been recognized, educators have only recently become aware that a child's academic performance can be influenced by his peer group.

The Coleman Report (1966) suggests that "a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school" (p. 22). This peer group influence may have both a direct and an indirect component (Datta, 1969). The direct component consists of the effects children at different levels of achievement have on each other. Effects may be positive or negative. The presence of more advanced children in a classroom may stimulate the development of other children. On the other hand, if some of the children are clearly superior to the rest of the class, these children may feel little or no competitive pressure from their peers, and therefore, their achievement may not reflect their full potential.

The indirect component affects the child's achievemnet by influencing the teachers' expectations for the class as a whole. If a teacher gears work for the majority of the class, the achievement levels may be too low to challenge the brighter students, and too high to be met by the less able students. Thus, Datta (1969) suggests that a child's achievement level in relation to the majority of the students in the class can be an important factor in his educational development.

Empirical evidence of peer influence on achievement comes from a study by Wolff and Stein (1966). They tested former Head Start children who had been in kindergarten for six months. Results indicated that the ratio of Head Start to non-Head Start children appeared to influence the academic performance of the Head Start children. If at least half of the children had participated in the Head Start program, then the Head Start children seemed to maintain their initial academic advantage. However, when fewer than 25% of the children had attended a Head Start program, the Head Start children's advantage disappeared.

Peer group continuity does not at present seem to be highly valued. Few provisions are made for it, and little research has been done. One educational provision for continuity in a peer group is to keep a group of students together for several years, perhaps throughout elementary school. Another format suggested for changing part of the class each year. This way, the "personality" of the class might change, but about half the class members would be familiar with each other each year. Under this option, the child would have the benefit of some degree of continuity, but also have the experience of making new friends and adapting to new situations and expectations.

Advocates of busing for racial balance seem to believe that the composition of the peer groups is more important than the continuity of the group. Additional research is needed on the effects of peer group continuity. Is there an optimum amount of continuity for overall development? What are the educational effects of changing the nature (racial or social) of the peer group at the expense of continuity? Is the degree of peer group continuity related to the ability to adapt

to new situations? Are there developmental differences in the importance of peer group continuity? Younger children probably benefit more from having some degree of continuity of peer group, particularly children enrolled in some type of intervention program. These concerns need to be investigated before the effect of peer group continuity can be understood.

Teacher expectations. Usually a child has a new teacher for each grade. Each teacher may have different expectations for the child, and the child is influenced by these expectations (cf., Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Contemporary feminists suggest that all behavioral differences between boys and girls are the result of differential expectations for the two groups. Abrupt changes in expectations for the child from year to year may cause problems, particularly when the child has adopted one teacher's expectations about his performance.

Is continuity of teacher expectation possible, or desirable? Elementary school teachers may meet together informally, and share information about children in their classes. However, preschool and elementary school teachers seldom discuss incoming kindergarten children. Anderson and Shane (1972) suggest a method for increasing the continuity of teacher expectations from preschool to school. If the preschool is in the same location as the elementary school, interaction between the preschool and primary classes can occur. In this way, the preschool child will be able to interact with the elementary school teacher before actually enrolling in the first grade.

Another suggestion is to rotate the teachers so that one teacher teaches the preschool class, and then moves with that class to the

elementary school. If such teacher continuity occurred, the children's transition between preschool and school might be more easily accomplished.

Are the effects of increasing the continuity of teachers and of teacher expectations always positive? At first glance, it would seem not, at least for those children for whom the teacher's expectations were negative. Most teachers are aware of this problem and try to avoid looking at a student's permanent records until they come to know the child. Perhaps the nature of the expectation is more important than continuity. Some educators may feel that a child needs to be exposed to a variety of expectations. However, the child cannot choose teacher expectancies.

One possible benefit from continuity of expectations is that the child might be able to form a more stable self concept. However, this is speculation. The point to be made here is that if the teacher holds favorable and realistic expectations about the child, then continuity of teachers and teacher expectations is good. If not, forcing the child to remain with the same teacher over a period of time for the sake of continuity is unfair to the child and may be detrimental to his educational development.

Instructional approaches. The transition from the typical emphasis on social skills in preschool to the academic emphasis of the elementary school represents a major change in instructional approach. There are three basic types of instructional approaches, each with different expectancies:

Uniform expectancy approach, in which each child is expected to learn the same material at the same pace.

Dual expectancy approach, in which all children are expected to cover the same material, but variation in pace and rate is allowed.

Varied expectancy approach, in which both the material and the pace vary from child to child.

The uniform expectancy approach is knowledge-centered, with standards for the whole class based on some conception of what every child needs to know. In the varied expectancy approach, curricular decisions are made on the basis of each child's needs and interests. Midway between is the dual expectancy approach. The subject matter is usually standard for all children, but the pace at which it is presented is varied. Much of the programmed instruction used in elementary school is this kind, since academic standards often take precedence over the child's needs. If the teacher perceives the child's pace is too slow the child may be strongly encouraged to work harder to achieve minimum levels of achievement or minimum rates of progress.

The approach generally used in the traditional preschool is the varied expectancy approach. According to Millder (1969), "The emphasis is... on development in all areas and at each child's natural pace. This prevents setting any standard of achievement, or specific goals for all children." (pp. 22-23). The traditional elementary school, on the other hand, most commonly uses the uniform expectancy approach. In many school systems, not only does the curriculum guide indicate what all children are to learn at each grade level, but standardized achievement tests are given at the end of each grade to see if the learning did occur.

Do changes in expectations in terms of instructional approach affect the child's learning? What effect does increasing the continuity of the general instructional approach have? No research is currently

available which speaks directly to this point, but some existing research suggests there are positive effects when the continuity of instructional approach is increased.

Miller and Dyer (1971) conducted a longitudinal study with Head Start children from preschool to the end of first grade. In the preschool year, the children were randomly assigned to classrooms using one of four models: Bereiter-Engelmann, DARCEE, Montessori, or Traditional. At least one class from each of these models was assigned to a Follow-Through (token-economy) kindergarten and first grade; at least one group from each model went to a regular (traditional) kindergarten and first grade. Here, the Follow-Through approach would be best described as dual expectancy, but with leanings toward the uniform expectancy approach, while the regular approach seemed most like the varied expectancy approach.

The Bereiter-Engelmann and DARCEE models may be described as essentially having a uniform expectancy approach. Although both models used ability grouping, the standards were the same for all children within a group. These standards were set by the teachers on the basis of some a priori decision about what the children needed to learn. All groups usually worked on the same material at slightly different levels of difficulty. The levels themselves were identifiable in relation to the overall standard (e.g., average, below average, above average).

The Montessori and Traditional Models used a varied expectancy approach. Both were child-centered, with the child deciding what he would learn and which teacher would assist him. Neither model had fixed academic standards for the whole class, nor for groups within the

class. The teacher attempted to know each child well enough so that she could judge his progress in relation to his own starting point and ability.

In assessing the effects of continuity of instructional approach, two sets of comparisons will be drawn from the study above. The first comparison is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Continuity of Instructional Approaches-Comparison I

Instructional Approach (Follow Through Models)	
Uniform/Dual-Uniform	Varied/Dual-Uniform
Bereiter-Engelman	Montessori
DARCEE	Traditional

Because of the increased continuity of instructional approaches, we would expect a smoother transition to elementary school for the children in the Bereiter-Engelmann and DARCEE models. This transition should be reflected in better academic performance.

However, the fact is that at the end of first grade, children who had been in the Traditional Head Start performed better on the reading and math sections of the California Achievement Tests. They also performed better on the Metropolitan Readiness Test. The children from the Bereiter-Engelmann program achieved next highest on all models measured, followed by DARCEE and Montessori. Thus, contrary to expectations, the children in the Traditional Head Start outperformed all others.

The second comparison of interest is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Continuity of Instructional Approaches-Comparison II

Instructional Approach	
Uniform/Varied	Varied/Varied
Bereiter-Engelmann/Regular	Montessori/Regular
DARCEE/Regular	Traditional/Regular

Here we would expect better performance on the achievement measures from the children in the Montessori and Traditional models. Research results do support this hypothesis. Children in the Montessori Model scored highest on the Metropolitan Readiness Test, and the math and reading sections of the California Achievement Test, followed by children in the Traditional, DARCEE, and Bereiter-Engelmann models.

Miller and Dyer (1971) add a cautionary note to their findings:

> There is no evidence available from this study regarding the possible effects of continuity in any of the four programs--i.e., a sequence consisting of the same type of program continued from prekindergarten through first grade....If programs introduce experiences which are premature for certain groups... the effects of shifting to different programs subsequently may be detrimental for this reason alone. (pp.32-33)

If increased continuity of general instructional approach has positive effects,is it possible that marked discontinuity has negative effects by interfering with the child's learning? More specifically, is having no preschool experience better for children than having to unlearn

preschool behaviors in order to succeed in elementary school? Datta (1969) comments on the well-recognized pattern of intellectual development for Head Start children when they make the transition from Head Start preschool to elementary school:

> What appears to happen is that the rate (of development) slows down for Head Start children while their non-Head Start counterparts sooner or later catch up...The majority of studies show that the developmental gap between Head Start and non-Head Start children is being closed or has been eliminated by the end of the first year in school be it kindergarten or first grade.

Possible explanations for these "wash-out effects" might include one-time impact, class norms (as discussed in this paper under the section on peer groups), peer group influence, learning cycles, and factors in the school system. Another explanation for the phenomenon might be that it was easier for the inexperienced kindergarteners to learn the necessary school behaviors than it was for the Head Start children to unlearn possible interfering behavior taught in preschool. Research on the effects of interference effects due to discontinuity of instructional approaches needs to be done. Until research is undertaken, hypotheses about the effects of continuity of instructional approach remain in the realm of conjecture.

Summary

Differential expectations in many areas seem to underlie the transition from preschool to elementary school. Continuity in this context is defined as the degree to which transitions between periods of different expectations are made gradual and uninterrupted. Expectations are those of peers and of teachers, those implied by the children's

own behavior, and those implied by various instructional approaches. Although little research evidence was found either to prove or disprove the importance of continuity, expectations may be important in explaining the washout phenomenon often found in research on the long-term effects of intervention programs. If a child is expected to behave according to a certain set of expectations in preschool, will he suffer from interference effects if the elementary school expectations are quite different? Will the child have to unlearn one set of expectations before learning another?

Variables such as peer group and teacher expectations are not usually studied in research on the long term effect of intervention programs. Perhaps a better understanding of the effects of these variables would go a long way toward helping suggest alternative hypotheses. Research on the relative importance of various kinds of expectations, and the effects of changes in these expectations seems to be necessary before the long-term impacts of different kinds of intervention programs can be understood.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Questions raised in this paper suggest that continuity may be very important. Parent involvement in the child's education appears to provide a large element of continuity although current research has not yet substantiated this belief. Moore (1968) suggests that early parent behaviors are related to intelligence and reading achievement. Many studies indicate that children gain most when their parents participate in intervention programs and results suggest that parent participation may enhance parent

self concepts as well as teach parents specific information about child development, child rearing, and teaching behaviors. But rarely are such conclusions based on hard data from carefully designed studies.

How, then, can good data be collected on such questions? In assessing the effects of the degree of parent involvement on the child's subsequent success in school a componential analysis might be undertaken. Each program component would then be tested alone and in all possible combinations. In this way, data could be gathered about the relative effectiveness of degree and kind of parental involvement.

Although most programs seem to emphasize cognitive development, and many include language development and verbal interaction, little assessment has been made of the effects of such stimulation on other aspects of child development. Again, it seems likely that a child who can communicate well should get along better socially; but current research gives us no conclusive evidence. Piaget does find that a young child in the preoperational stage of intellectual development often exhibits egocentric language, and that as he develops and gains skill in communication, he also matures socially.

Continuity of expectations for a child may or may not be important, depending upon the nature of those expectations, and their impact upon the child. At present, since so little is known about the continuity of expectations it might be helpful to gather systematic observations about a child, making notes of the history of his experiences. From such observational data on children's behavior, experimental research programs might be designed. However, we should not begin such experimentation until we know what variables to manipulate.

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